

Picturing the Invisible: Religious Printed Images in Elizabethan England

Submitted by David Jonathan Davis to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY in HISTORY

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Abstract

This thesis analyses the culture of printed images during the Elizabethan period, particularly those images of a religious nature. Focusing on images which depict invisible beings (i.e. angels, God, demons etc.), the thesis addresses the assumption that Protestant England all but completely eradicated religious visual imagery from society. Examining images that were first created and printed in Elizabethan England as well as older images which had been recycled from earlier texts and others imported from Europe, the research offers an analysis of Protestant printed imagery between 1558 and 1603. Questions of how images were read, altered, augmented, copied and transmitted across time and space have been posed. What was depicted and how? How were religious images used? What was their understood role in early modern print culture? How did Protestants distinguish between church images to be destroyed and printed images to be read? In this, the images have been historically contextualised within both the theological and cultural milieu of Calvinist theology, the growing international marketplace of print and early modern English society. Attention has been paid to how images were received by readers and how they may have been seen. Emphasis is placed upon the role of the printed image as both a representation and an agent of culture, as well as an integral aspect of the printing industry. Ultimately, this thesis seeks to explain how printed images were employed and utilised by both printer and reader in the context of an iconoclastic English Reformation.

Contents

<u>Abstract</u>	p. 2
<u>List of Illustrations</u>	p. 4
<u>List of Abbreviations</u>	p. 8
<u>Notes on the Text</u>	p. 9
<u>Acknowledgements</u>	p. 10
 <u>Chapter 1: Introduction</u>	 p. 11
 <u>Chapter 2: The Marketplace of Images: Elizabethan Printed</u>	 p. 47
<u>Images within the Historical Context</u>	
<u>English Printing: A European Tradition</u>	p. 52
<u>Moving Images: The Elizabethan Marketplace</u>	p. 61
<u>Censorship and the Printed Image</u>	p. 74
<u>A Market of Images: Commodity and Cultural Object</u>	p. 82
 <u>Chapter 3: Seeking a Knot: Adiaphora and a Theology of</u>	 p. 95
<u>Images in Reformation England</u>	
<u>Lollards and the Early Reformers</u>	p. 100
<u>Adiaphora and the Early Reforms</u>	p. 103
<u>Reformed Theology and the English Reformation</u>	p. 108
<u>Images and the Boundaries of Acceptability</u>	p. 116
 <u>Chapter 4: Good and Evil Angels in Elizabethan Printed Images</u>	 p. 139
<u>Seeing and Believing in Angels</u>	p. 144
<u>Evil Angels and Their Accomplices</u>	p. 151
<u>Antichrist and the Destruction of Everyman</u>	p. 166
<u>Justice and Defence: Good Angels in the World</u>	p. 179
<u>Seeing the Invisible Battle</u>	p. 193
<u>Death: The Final Sting</u>	p. 201
 <u>Chapter 5: With Visions and Symbols: Printed Images of</u>	 p. 209
<u>God in Elizabethan England</u>	
<u>Depicting God in Books of Religion</u>	p. 212
<u>Seeing God: Divine Visions in Scripture</u>	p. 216
<u>Images of God Beyond the Bible</u>	p. 233
<u>In the Beginning: God at Creation</u>	p. 249
<u>God Spoken: Protestant Symbols of the Divine</u>	p. 259
 <u>Chapter 6: The God-Man Displayed: Representations of</u>	 p. 289
<u>Christ in Elizabethan Printed Images</u>	
<u>Christ and the Image of God</u>	p. 293
<u>From <i>Corpus Christi</i> to Christ Displayed</u>	p. 304
<u>Reforming the <i>Imitatio Christi</i></u>	p. 318
<u>Imitation of Christ in Scripture</u>	p. 333
<u>Seeing and Living Christ's Life</u>	p. 341
<u>The Resurrection and the Return of Christ</u>	p. 356
 <u>Conclusion</u>	 p. 367
 <u>Appendix A</u>	 p. 375
<u>Appendix B</u>	p. 378
<u>Appendix C</u>	p. 381
<u>Bibliography</u>	p. 383

List of Illustrations

- Plate I: 'Annunciation to Mary' *The manuell of prayers, or the prymer in Englyshe* (London: J. Mayler f. J. Waylande, 1539), STC 16010, F3r.
- Plate II: 'Annunciation to Mary' in David Lindsay, *A dialogue betweene Experience and a Courtier* (London: T. Purfoote and W. Pickering, 1566), A7r.
- Plate III: 'Annunciation of the Virgin' in John Calvin, *A sermon ... conteining an exhortation to suffer persecution for followinge Jesus Christe* (London: R. Waldegrave, 1581), STC 4439.5, C4v.
- Plate IV: 'The Fall' in Thomas Hariot, *The true pictures...of the people of Virginia, 2pts.*, (Frankfort: T. de Bry, 1590), STC 12786, p. 37.
- Plate V: 'The Fall' in Leonard Wright, *The pilgrimage to paradise* (London: J. Wolfe, 1591). STC 26032
- Plate VI: 'Devil with a Woman' in Raphael Holinshed, *The firste volume of the chronicles of England...* (London: H. Bynneman f. J. Harison, 1577), STC 13568, series 4, H4v.
- Plate VII: 'Activities of Witchcraft' in James Carmichael, *Newes from Scotland, declaring the damnable life and death of Dr. Fian* (London: E. Allde f. W. Wright, 1592), STC 10841a, frontispiece.
- Plate VIII: 'Revenge for a Quarrel' in Anon., *A rehearsal both straung and true, of heinous actes committed by Elizabeth Stile* (London: J. Allde, 1579), STC 23267, frontispiece.
- Plate IX: 'The Cat Satan' in Anon., *A rehearsal both straung and true*, A5v.
- Plate X: 'The murder of a family' in Anon., *Sundrye strange and inhumaine murthers* (London: T. Scarlet, 1591), STC 18286.5, frontispiece.
- Plate XI: 'Birth of the pope' in Stephen Batman, *The new arival of the three gracis* (London: T. East f. W. Norton & S. Batman, 1580), STC 1584, E3v.
- Plate XII: 'Whore of Babylon' in Hugh Broughton, *A concent of scripture* (London: R. Watkins, 1590), STC 3850, end page.
- Plate XIII: 'The Devil Enthroned' in Pierre Boaistuau, *Certaine secrete wonders of nature* (London: H. Bynneman, 1569), STC 3164.5, A1r.
- Plate XIV: 'Pope with Devil as a Lion' in Walter Lynne, *The beginning and ending of all popery* (London: J. Charlewoode, 1588), STC 17116, E1r.
- Plate XV: 'Pope's pact with Devil' in Denakol, *Den sack met die stucken* (London: H. Bynneman, 1568), STC 6581, G2r.
- Plate XVI: 'Pope and Devil slay Lamb' in Walter Lynne, *The beginning and ending of all popery* (London: J. Charlewoode, 1588), STC 17116, E2v.
- Plate XVII: 'Cardinal rides a dragon' in Stephen Batman, *A christall glasse of Christian reformation* (London: J. Day, 1569), H2r.
- Plate XVIII: 'Angel wrests keys from Pope' in Lynne, *The beginning and ending of all poperie*, F1v.
- Plate XIX: 'Devils skewer souls' in *Kalender of Shepherds* (1556), E7v.
- Plate XX: 'Devils force-feed souls' in *Kalender of Shepherds* (1556), F2v.
- Plate XXI: 'Hellmouth' in John Hayward, *The sanctuarie of the troubled soule* (London: J. Windet f. J. Wolfe, 1601), STC 13003.5, C5v.
- Plate XXII: 'Expulsion from Eden' in *The boke of common prayer* (Ipswich: J. Oswen, 1552), STC 16271, frontispiece.
- Plate XXIII: 'Balaam and the angel' in Richard Day, *Christian prayers and meditations* (London: J. Day, 1569), a2r.
- Plate XXIV: 'Angel above Flemish town' in John Drucateen, *True newes from Mercare* (London: f. W. Barley, 1598), STC 17764, A1v.
- Plate XXV: 'Elizabeth as Imperial Navigator' in John Dee, *General and rare memorials* (London: J. Day, 1577), STC 6459, frontispiece.
- Plate XXVI: 'Angel and kneeling prophet' in John Hayward, *Gods universal right proclaimed* (London: R. Reade f. C. Burby, 1603), STC 12984, frontispiece.
- Plate XXVII: 'Angel holding scroll for Micah' in *The bible in Englishe* (London: R. Harrison, 1562), STC 2096, 3A6v.
- Plate XXVIII: 'Faith dueling with Envy' in Batman, *A christall glasse*, H1r.
- Plate XXIX: 'Angel battles popish ceremony' in Batman, *A christall glasse*, I1r.
- Plate XXX: 'Queen's carriage with Angel and Death' in Batman, *The travailed pylgrime*, M2v.
- Plate XXXI: 'Queen's carriage with Death removed' in Anthony Munday, *The fountaine of fame* (London: J. Charlewood, 1580), STC 18283, E1v.
- Plate XXXII: 'Michael and Satan' in Day, *Christian prayers and meditations*, d1r.
- Plate XXXIII: 'Michael and Satan' in *The newe testament* (London: R. Wolfe, 1549), STC 2858, X7v.
- Plate XXXIV: 'Patriarch Asher' in Robert Grosseteste, *The testaments of the twelve patriarches* (London: J. Day, 1574), STC 19465.7, H8v

Plate XXXV: 'Christian with World, Flesh and the Devil' in Leonard Wright, *The pilgrimage to paradise* (London: J. Wolfe, 1591), STC 26032, C3v.

Plate XXXVI: 'Isaac and Jacob with Devil' in Theodore Beze, *A tragedie of Abrahams sacrifice* (London: T. Vautrollier, 1577), STC 2047, C7v.

Plate XXXVII: 'Sacrifice of Isaac' in Beze, *A tragedie of Abrahams sacrifice*, D6r.

Plate XXXVIII: 'Christian woman and Devil' in Anon., *A marvelous tydynges both wonders old and new*. s.sh.fol. (London: C. Woltrop, 1570), STC 24066.

Plate XXXIX: 'Angels carry human soul to Heaven' in M. Osborne, *A newe ballade of a love extolling his ladye*. s.sh.fol. (London: W. Griffin, 1566), STC 18876.

Plate XL: 'Good and Evil Angels with Human souls' in Richard Day, *A booke of Christian prayers* (London: J. Day, 1578), STC 6439, Q2r.

Plate XLI: 'Victoria as Angel carries soul' in Lloyd Lodowick, *An epitaph vpon the death of the honorable, syr Edward Saunders Knight*. s.sh.fol. (London: H. Singleton f. H. Disle, 1576), STC 16620.

Plate XLII: 'Crossing of the Red Sea' in *Geneva Bible* (Geneva: R. Hall, 1560), STC 2093, frontispiece.

Plate XLIII: 'Ezekiel's Vision of Heaven' in *Geneva Bible*, 3N3v.

Plate XLIV: 'Isaiah's Vision of Heaven' in the *Bishops' Bible* (London: R. Jugge, 1572), STC 2099, 3K3v.

Plate XLV: 'The Law and Grace' in *The bible in Englishe* (London: R. Harrison, 1562), STC 2096, frontispiece.

Plate XLVI: 'Garden of Eden' in *The bible in Englishe*, *8v.

Plate XLVII: 'Moses and God' in *The bible in Englishe*, 2P7v.

Plate XLVIII: 'Peter's vision' in *The bible in Englishe*, New Testament, O6r.

Plate XLIX: 'Creation of Adam and Eve' in Richard Grafton, *A chronicle at large* (London: H. Denham f. R. Tottel and H. Toye, 1569), STC 12147, A1r.

Plate L: 'Talent hindered by Poverty' in Sampson Davie, *The end and confession of T. Norton and C. Norton rebels who died the 27th of May 1570*, London, 1570, STC 6325, frontispiece.

Plate LI: 'Deliverance from Evil' in *A bryefe summe of the whole Byble* (London: T. Marshe, 1568), F4r.

Plate LII: 'Moses and the Ten Commandments' in Denakol, *Den sack met*, G1v.

Plate LIII: 'The Golden Calf' in Day, *A booke of Christian payers*, g1v.

Plate LIV: 'God enthroned' in *Chistian Man or The King's Book* (London: J. Mayler, 1543), STC 5170.3, C2r.

Plate LV: 'Destruction of Babylon' in John Bale, *The image of both churches* (London: T. East, 1570), STC 1301, G3v.

Plate LVI: 'Sealing of the Faithful' in Bale, *The image of both churches*, N4v.

Plate LVII: 'Harvest of Souls' in Bale, *The image of both churches*, S3r.

Plate LVIII: 'Woman clothed in glory' in Bale, *The image of both churches*, D5v.

Plate LIX: 'Revelation to St. John' in Munday, *The fountaine of fame*, I1r.

Plate LX: 'God enthroned with Christ and Holy Spirit' in John Woolton, *A treatise of the immortalitie of the soule* (London: T. Purfoote f. J. Sheppard, 1576), STC 25979, inside frontispiece.

Plate LXI: 'God enthroned' in Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *Batman upon Bartholome* (London: T. East, 1581), STC 1538, frontispiece.

Plate LXII: 'Fall of Angels' in Anglicus, *Batman upon Bartholome*, A8v.

Plate LXIII: 'The Garden of Eden' in Anglicus, *Batman upon Bartholome*, E6r.

Plate LXIV: 'Creation' in Dionysius Cato, *Preceptes of Cato* (London: J. Tysdale, 1560), STC 4854, 2G8r.

Plate LXV: 'Creation' in Holinshed, *Chronicles*, 4r.

Plate LXVI: 'Garden of Eden' in *Geneva Bible* (London: C. Barker, 1583), STC 2136, D4v.

Plate LXVII: 'The Fall' in Christopher Sutton, *Disce mori* (London: J. Windet, 1601), STC 23474, 1v.

Plate LXVIII: 'Creation' in *A bryefe summe of the whole Byble*, D3r.

Plate LXIX: 'Marriage of Adam and Eve' in *A bryefe summe of the whole Byble*, H8v.

Plate LXX: 'Crowning of the Virgin' in Gaspar Loarte, *The misteries of the rosarie* (London: W. Carter, 1579), STC 16646, N8r.

Plate LXXI: Frontispiece (top portion) of the *Bishops' Bible* (London: R. Barker, 1602), STC 2188.

Plate LXXII: 'Holy Family' in John Hooper, *An oversight and deliberacion vpon the holy prophet Jonas* (London: J. Tisdale, 1560), STC 13765, j5r.

Plate LXXIII: 'Destruction of Jerusalem' in Pierre Boaistuau, *Certaine secrete wonders of nature* (London: H. Bynneman, 1569), STC 3164.5, A4r.

Plate LXXIV: 'A Divine Portent' in Boaistuau, *Certaine secrete wonders*, P1v.

Plate LXXV: Frontispiece of the *Rouen Bible* (Rouen: C. Hamillon, 1566), STC 2098.

Plate LXXVI: 'Burning Bush' in Peter Vermigli, *Loci communes* (London: J. Kingston, 1576), STC 24667, frontispiece.

Plate LXXVII: Frontispiece in Frank Adams, *Writing Tables* (London: J. Roberts, 1598), STC 26050.

Plate LXXVIII: 'Comet with Tetragrammaton' in Laurence Johnson, *Cometographia* (London: T. East f. R. Walley, 1577?), STC 1416, frontispiece.

Plate LXXIX: 'Wisdom teaching fools' in Sebastian Brant, *Ship of fools* (London: J. Cawood, 1570), STC 3546, h1r.

Plate LXXX: 'Fool in a burning house' in Brant, *Ship of fools*, h3r.

Plate LXXXI: 'John Dee kneeling in prayer' in John Dee, *A letter, containing a most briefe discourse apologeticall* (London: P. Short, 1599), STC 6460, frontispiece.

Plate LXXXII: 'Pope knocked to the ground' in Lynne, *The beginning and ending*, frontispiece.

Plate LXXXIII: 'Saul's vision of Christ' in *The newe testament of our Lord Jesus Christ* (London: C. Barker, 1575), STC 2877, 2F3r.

Plate LXXXIV: 'Pope feeds bears' in Lynne, *The beginning and ending*, C4r.

Plate LXXXV: 'Pope kneels before God's hand' in Lynne, *The beginning and ending*, D2v.

Plate LXXXVI: 'Morning Prayer' in *A bryefe summe of the whole Byble*, L1v.

Plate LXXXVII: 'Evening Prayer' in *A bryefe summe of the whole Byble*, L4v.

Plate LXXXVIII: 'Prayer while at work' in *A bryefe summe of the whole Byble*, L5v.

Plate LXXXIX: 'Prayer while travelling' in *A bryefe summe of the whole Byble*, L6r.

Plate XC: 'Prayer at Meals' in *A bryefe summe of the whole Byble*, M7r.

Plate XCI: 'Wrath as religious oppression' in Batman, *A christall glasse*, D1v.

Plate XCII: 'Pharaoh orders execution' in *The bible in Englishe*, S3r.

Plate XCIII: 'Faith as Christian Warrior' in Batman, *A christall glasse*, M4r.

Plate XCIV: 'Hope as a City on a Hill' in Batman, *A christall glasse*, N3r.

Plate XCV: Frontispiece in Augustine, *Certain select prayers* (London: J. Day, 1574), STC 924.

Plate XCVI: Border images in Augustine, *Certain select prayers*.

Plate XCVII: 'King David kneeling in prayer' in Thomas Rogers, *A golden chaine* (London: H. Denham, 1579), A12v.

Plate XCVIII: 'King Solomon kneeling in prayer' in Rogers, *A golden chaine*, L2v.

Plate XCIX: 'The Conversion of Saul' in *The newe testament in Englishe* (London: J. Cawood, 1569), STC 2873.7, S1r

Plate C: 'Stoning of Stephen' in *The newe testament* (1569), S5r.

Plate CI: Frontispiece in Publius Virgilius, *The fourth boke of Virgill* (London: J. Day, 1554), STC 24810a.5.

Plate CII: 'Jesu Christo' left portion of frontispiece in Pierre Ramus, *The Latine grammar of P. Ramus* (London: R. Waldegrave, 1585), STC 15252.

Plate CIII: 'Ship of Life' in *Kalender of Shepherds* (1556), F8v.

Plate CIV: Frontispiece for 'The Fourth Lampe of Virginitie' in Thomas Bentley, *The monument of matrones* (London: H. Denham, 1582), STC 1892, 3R6r.

Plate CV: 'A Newyeres gifte' foldout woodcut in Bernard Garter, *A newyeres gifte* (London: H. Bynneman, 1569), STC 11629, H2r.

Plate CVI: 'Agnus Dei' in John Jewel, *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (London: F. Bouier, 1584), STC 14583, frontispiece.

Plate CVII: 'Agnus Dei medallion' in Abraham Fleming, *An epitaph, or funerall inscription*, s.sh.fol. (London: H. Denham f. T. Turner, 1580), STC 11038.

Plate CVIII: 'Christ as the Lamb of God' in *The holie bible* (London: R. Barker, 1602), STC 2188, frontispiece.

Plate CIX: 'Coin with Christ and the Virgin with Child' in Konrad Lycosthenes, *A doome warning* (London: R. Nuberry at the assignes of H. Bynneman, 1581), STC 1582, I6v.

Plate CX: 'Profile of Popish material' in Lycosthenes, *A doome warning*, R6v.

Plate CXI: 'Salvator Mundi and Fool' in Sebastian Brant, *Ship of fools* (London: J. Cawood, 1570), STC 3546, 2F2v.

Plate CXII: 'Fool stabbing the Crucified Christ' in Brant, *Ship of fools*, 2F4v.

Plate CXIII: 'Hermit reading before a Crucifix' in *A bryefe summe*, I7r.

Plate CXIV: 'Christ as the Good Shepherd' in John Jewel, *A defence of the Apologie of the Church of Englande* (London: H. Wykes, 1567), STC 14600.5, frontispiece.

Plate CXV: 'Good Shepherd and hirelings' in Urbanus Rhegius, *A lytle treatise...wherin he declareth the dyversyte* (London: G. Lynne, 1548), STC 20849, frontispiece.

Plate CXVI: Christ preaching "come unto me" in Lycosthenes, *A doome warning*, 1v.

Plate CXVII: Frontispiece in John Fisher, *Two fruitfull sermons* (London: P. Treveris, 1532), STC 10909.

Plate CXVIII: Lower portion of frontispiece in Francis Newport, *An epytaphe, of the godlye constaint... confessor mystres Darothye Wynnes whiche slepte in Christ* (London: O. Rogers, 1560), STC 18499.

Plate CXX: 'Christ washing the disciples feet' in frontispiece of John Philips, *The examination and confession of certaine wythes at Chensforde* (London: R. Johns, 1566), STC 19869.5.

Plate CXXI: 'Christ preaching' in Lindsay, *A dialogue betweene experience and a courtier*, A8v.

Plate CXXII: 'Christ preaching' in *A bryefe summe*, E6v.

Plate CXXIII: 'Christ teaching the paternoster' in *Kalender of Shepherds* (1556), F5r.

Plate CXXIV: 'Christ giving the Gospel' in *A bryefe summe*, G3r.

Plate CXXV: Frontispiece in *The Byble in Englyshe* (Rouen: C. Hamillon, 1566), STC 2098

Plate CXXVI: 'Last Supper' in *The byble in Englyshe* (London: J. Cawood, 1561), STC 2094, New Testament frontispiece.

Plate CXXVII: 'Judas's betrayal' in *The byble in Englyshe* (1561), New Testament frontispiece.
 Plate CXXVIII: 'Crucifixion' in frontispiece of *The byble in Englyshe* (1561).
 Plate CXXIX: 'Tree of Jesse' in frontispiece of Day, *Christian prayers and meditations*.
 Plate CXXX: 'Virgin and child in Glory' in *Kalender of Shepherds* (1570), F4v.
 Plate CXXXI: 'Adoration of the Magi' in *The ABC with the catechism* (London: T. Purfoote f. assigns of R. Day, 1601), STC 20.7, B8v.
 Plate CXXXII: 'Visitation of the Shepherds' in Grafton, *A chronicle at large*, G2r.
 Plate CXXXIII: 'Last Supper' in Christopher Carlisle, *A discourse on Peters life* (London: R. Ward, 1580), STC 4656, frontispiece.
 Plates CXXXIV—CXXXVIII: 'Passion Series' in Day, *Christian prayers and meditations*, c1r-c2r, 11v-K2r.
 Plate CXXXIX: 'Crucifixion' in Day, *Christian prayers and meditations*, d4v.
 Plate CXL: 'Crucifixion' in *Kalender of Shepherds* (1556), M4v.
 Plate CXLI: 'Crucifixion' in *Kalender of Shepherds* (1559), M4v.
 Plate CXLII: 'Instruments of the Passion' in frontispiece of Samuel Rowlands, *The betraying of Christ Judas in despaire* (London: A. Islip, 1598), STC 21365.
 Plate CXLIII: 'Man of Sorrows' in Richard Vennard, *The right way to heaven* (London: T. East, 1602), STC 24638, E3v.
 Plate CXLIV: 'Christ Jesus Triumphant' in John Foxe, *Christ Jesus triumphant A fruitfull treatise* (London: J. Day, 1579), STC 11231, frontispiece.
 Plate CXLV: Frontispiece in Richard Curteys, *A sermon preached before the Queenes Majesty...* (London: H. Bynneman f. H. Toye, 1575), STC 6139, frontispiece.
 Plate CXLVI: 'Last Judgement' in Anon., *Christmas carols* (Southwark: P. Treveris, 1528?), STC 5204.3, A1v.
 Plate CXLVII: Anon., *A marvelous tydynges both wonders old and new*. s.sh.fol.
 Plate CXLVIII: 'Last Judgement' in *A bryefe summe*, D5v.
 Plate CXLIX: William Rogers, *Meditation. A godly meditation day and night to be exercised*. s.sh. fol. (London, 1600), STC 17773.5.
 Plate CL: 'Verity: Christ in Judgement' in Batman, *A christall glasse*, Q2v.
 Plate CLI: 'Last Judgement' in Bentley, *Monument of matrons*, 4D4r.

Abbreviations

BBTI—*The British Book Trade Index*: <http://www.bbti.bham.ac.uk/>

CHBB, vol. III—*The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, vol. III, 1400-1557*, edited by Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trapp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

CHBB, vol. IV—*The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, vol. IV, 1557-1695*, edited by John Barnard and D.F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)

CSPD—*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reigns of Edward VI., Mary, Elizabeth, and James I, 1547-[1625]*, vol. 10: Elizabeth (London: Public Record Office, 1867)

Devices—Ronald B. McKerrow, *Printers' & Publishers' Devices in England & Scotland, 1485-1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1913)

EHR—*The English Historical Review*

English Woodcuts—Edward Hodnett, *English Woodcuts, 1480-1535* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935)

GEIB, vol. I—Ruth Luborsky and Elizabeth Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books, 1536-1603, vol. I* (Tempe, AZ: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1998)

GEIB, vol. II—Ruth Luborsky and Elizabeth Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books, 1536-1603, vol. II* (Tempe, AZ: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1998)

McKerrow and Ferguson—Ronald B. McKerrow and F.S. Ferguson, *Title-Page Borders Used in England & Scotland 1485-1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1932 [for 1931])

ODNB—*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*: <http://www.oxforddnb.com>

P&P—*Past & Present: A Journal of Historical Studies*

Perkins Works, vol. I—William Perkins, *The workes of that famous and worthy minister of Christ in the Universitie of Cambridge, Mr. William Perkins. The first volume* (London: John Legatt, 1626). STC 19652

Perkins Works, vol. II—William Perkins, *The works of that famous and worthy minister of Christ in the Universitie of Cambridge M. William Perkins. The second volume* (London: John Legatt, 1631). STC 19653

Perkins Works, vol. III—William Perkins, *The workes of that famous and worthy minister of Christ in the Universitie of Cambridge, M. W. Perkins. The third and last volume* (London: John Haviland, for James Boler, 1631). STC 19653b.5

SCJ—*The Sixteenth Century Journal: The Journal of Early Modern Studies*

STC—*A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640, 3 vols.*, first compiled by A.W. Pollard & G.R. Redgrave; revised and enlarged / begun by W.A. Jackson and F.S. Ferguson, completed by Katharine F. Pantzer (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976-91)

TL—*The Library: The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*

TRCS-- *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640, 5 vols.*, edited by Edward Arber (London: Privately Printed, 1875-1894)

TRP— *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, vol. 3: *The Later Tudors (1588-1603)*, edited by Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (London: Yale University Press, 1969)

VAI—*Visitation Articles and Injunctions: Of the Period of the Reformation*, 3 vols., edited by Walter Howard Freer (London: Longmans, 1910)

Wing—*Short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America and of English books printed in other countries, 1641-1700*, compiled by Donald Wing (New York : Modern Language Association of America, 1972-88)

Notes on the Text

When referencing early modern editions, spelling and punctuation has been kept as it appears in the original texts, with the exception of i/j and u/v, which have been distinguished in accordance with modern usage. All Biblical references have been taken from the New International Version, unless otherwise stated. Because of their importance to this study, the names of the printers have been inserted into the footnotes for works published pre-1700 (though footnotes for secondary works still conform to the MHRA style guide).

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